1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

732 Chia women, make it quite impossible to obtain normal
357 girls as domestic servants for wages. A rich family may
567 thus be able and willing to pay wages and hire servants, but none can be found, except slaves, who are too stupid to do more than the crudest tasks.

517 In Ta Li, where there are no regular theatres playing at
574 all times, the principal recreation and entertainment of the
252 well to do is feasting. Every family gives parties at frequent intervals, and the male members are constantly being invited out to the homes of their friends and relatives. Women also go out to feasts, but more rarely, on important occasions such as a marriage, the birth of an heir, or the anniversary of some important relative. In most parts of China it is customary for the men to entertain their guests at a restaurant, but in Ta Li, where the only restaurants are the rather simple places catering for travellers, feasts are always given in the home. In certain cases where the family is a small one, and the kitchen not adequate, the food is sent in from a restaurant, but in the larger houses it is prepared by the women of the household themselves. As they do not sit down with the men and guests, they have plenty of time to cook the elaborate dishes served on these occasions.

574 The meal is served in the guest room, which as has been pointed out, is also the only sitting room in the house. Guests are invited for four or five in the afternoon, but no one arrives until at least half an hour, or more usually an hour, after the time named. The invitation card is sent round the day before with all the names of those to be invited written on it. In this way a guest can see who he is going to meet, and can avoid someone he dislikes by declining the invitation. This admirable custom might with advantage be adopted elsewhere. Eight, or at the outside ten, can find room at the round tables used for Min Chia feasts, and unless the party is a celebration for some important occasion, not

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

more than one table is served. The number of guests may therefore be from four to six, depending on the number of members of the family who will be present. All the guests are, of course, men, and it is not usual for young boys to be invited to these parties. When the guests arrive they are shown into the guest room, or if that is too small to be convenient, the room adjoining, normally some one's bedroom, will be re-arranged for the occasion. Tea is then served with cigarettes, and conversation is carried on until everyone has arrived, perhaps for nearly an hour. The guests arrive early or late in accordance with their willingness, or otherwise, to converse during this wait. After the meal it is customary to leave at once, so that the preliminary period of conversation and tea drinking corresponds to the conversation after dinner in the West.

When everyone has arrived, and the dinner is ready, the host invites them to enter the dining room and be seated. But this is not a simple or rapid operation. The table is round, and the place of honour is that which faces the entrance on the far side of the table, and which usually has the host's best bed and quilts as seat. Every one at once endeavours to sit down as far as possible from this place. The host, protesting, grabs the more honoured or elderly guest by the arm and endeavours to push him towards the seat of honour, but he, levered out of the chair he first sat in, promptly sits down in the next furthest from the place which he knows quite well he must ultimately occupy. All the other guests perform a similar pantomime, the hosts pulling them up and pushing them, protesting politely, to their destined seats. At last this contest of politeness is over and all are seated. The table has as yet nothing on it but chopsticks, small saucers of soy sauce, and four plates of cold food, ham, pickled vegetables, sliced sausage and some other cold vegetable dish.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

574
264 Wine cups are then placed on the table and the host fills them up to the brim, or even till they slightly overflow, this being a necessary act of politeness, showing that no wine will be stinted. The guests meanwhile proceed to wipe their chopsticks with pieces of brown coarse paper provided for the purpose, for it is not impolite thus to imply that your host's table ware is not quite clean. Everyone then takes salt and red pepper and mixes them into their [263] saucer of soy sauce. The Min Chia do not like their food as hot as the Ssu Ch'uanese, but they use more pepper than suits most European taste. Fortunately this custom of adding it individually makes it possible to take as little as you wish. Nearly five minutes passes in this way before anything is eaten at all, for the guests must not help themselves, and the host must not press them too soon, for that would seem to imply that they were hungry and had only come for the food.

At last the host says "Please let us drink," and everyone takes one small sip of the rather strong rice wine. Another short pause for conversation, and the host takes up his chopsticks, indicates the dishes of cold food, and says simply, "Please." Thereupon everyone takes one piece of cold food from the dishes, dips it in the soy sauce and eats it, at once putting down their chopsticks. This formal manner of eating with gradually shortening pauses, punctuated by rounds of wine sipping, continues for some time, perhaps a quarter of an hour, when, long before the cold food is finished, the young sons of the house bring in two hot dishes. No one, however, takes any notice of these steaming tasty dishes of chopped chicken and green peas, or meat balls stewed with chestnuts, until another round of wine has been drunk. Then, once more the host invites them to proceed.

These dishes have also to be consumed one by one in

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

slow time, putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, and waiting a minute or two till the host motions his guests to continue. But when the boys bring in two more dishes, while of the first two, still hardly touched, one remains untasted, the host, after another suitable pause, and a further round of wine, which by now is beginning to have a distinct effect on the faces of the guests, says, with a friendly wave of the chopsticks, "Please help yourselves". The guests then begin to eat heartily, no longer putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, and only pausing to drink wine at the invitation of their neighbour or their host. More dishes are brought in, and some of the half eaten ones taken out, for the ladies to taste, and the stiff manners of the first part of the meal give way to an increasingly uproarious informality. Talk is loud and slightly fuddled, and is almost drowned by the sharp cries of two neighbours engaged in one of the wine contest games which enliven Chinese feasts. The simplest of these games, introduced into Europe by the agency of the British Navy, is still popular with the Min Chia.

The two contestants place two full cups of wine between them. Each then raises his right hand and brings it down with the fist in one of three positions; either palm open, which is called "paper", or fist clenched, which is called "stone", or middle fingers held apart, which is called "scissors". If both contestants have chosen the same gesture, they have to repeat it until they are unlike, for the game consists of three rounds, the one with two out of three winners being successful. If A clenches his fist, i.e. makes "stone" and B has an open palm, then B wins that round, for "paper wraps stone". But next time A makes open fingers, "scissors", and B again has open palm, so B loses that round, for "scissors cut paper". Each gesture conquers one other and is conquered by another; paper

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

574 524 273 wraps stone, stone blunts scissors, scissors cut paper. The loser has to drink both cups of wine in two draughts, this being called " *Kan Pei* " " dry cup."

574 264 By the time this game has been played three or four times most of the losers are unconscious of what food they are eating, which is a pity, for it is delicious. Fish from the lake are served whole in brown sweet sauce, and are pulled to pieces with the chopsticks. Half-way through the feast a sweet dish of rice with a brown sugar sauce is served, and eaten not with chopsticks, but with china spoons. No rice is eaten till nearly the end of the meal, and some do not eat any at all. It is considered both unseemly and imprudent to drink wine after rice has been eaten, consequently the rice is only served last, when the guests have drunk their fill. The host must not ask for the rice first, for that would be a hint to the guests to stop drinking, but one of the guests, late in the feast, may ask for rice. The others can continue to drink if they wish to, but when the last dish, the " Fire Pot," is brought on, the wine is finished off. The Fire Pot is a circular trough-like dish, with a charcoal brazier in the centre, and the food consists of raw vegetables and thin slices of meat which are put into the circular trough and cooked lightly on the table, the guests helping themselves as the process continues. This dish is in fact the original from which the well-known Japanese Sukiyaki is derived. In Yunnan it is not eaten as a separate meal, but as the last dish at a feast, or on a picnic, where it has the advantage of being kept hot in the open air.

The host must not be the first to stop eating, even if he has long since had enough, he must toy with some food until at least one of the guests has finished. Each person, as he finishes, lays his chopsticks on the top of his bowl, and lifting it, bows to the host and the others, showing the inside of the bowl, which must be quite free from any

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

scrap of food. It is very bad manners to leave even a grain of rice in the bowl. The other guests then attempt to put more food in his bowl, but this is only pantomime, and he immediately leaves the table. In fact everyone, as he finishes, at once gets up, for the Min Chia idea of politeness on this point is the exact contrary of our own. For the guest who has finished to linger at the table would suggest to them that he regretted having stopped eating.

Tea and cigarettes are then served to the guests in the adjoining room, and some of the older men usually smoke opium, but in about a quarter of an hour the guests take their leave, for no one is expected to make much conversation after the feast, and many would not be capable of it. The Min Chia never drink wine at other times, for them wine is part of a feast, only to be taken with food, but essential at a party. Drunkenness is thus rare. People drink at a feast until they are more than a little intoxicated, but thereafter they go straight home and sleep, so that a drunken man in the street is an unknown sight. Moreover, only a minority take wine in excess. The most part of the guests drink until they are merry, but in no sense drunk, and the quantity of food eaten at the same time also prevents rapid intoxication. Opium smokers very rarely drink. It is almost an invariable rule to find that those who drink much do not smoke opium, and that those who do, hardly drink more than one cup of wine. I only came to know one man who both smoked opium regularly and also drank heavily, and he was generally regarded as a loose liver.

Apart from feasting there is very little entertainment available for the Min Chia of the well-to-do class. There is an occasional play given at one of the guild houses, or at a theatre in the town, but this is a rare occurrence. The Guild Houses, being the associations of Chinese merchants, are private, and the entertainments there are given only at

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

231
476 For domestic animals they all have pigs, cows, or sheep. The common variety is the yellow cow, and the P'ien-niu 犏牛, which is a hybrid of yellow cow and yak. The latter are kept as draft animals. During the spring or early summer, when the crops are coming out, the people send their cows up to the mountains in order to save the young crops from being trodden or destroyed by the cows, and at the same time to find grazing food, located between the agricultural and the forest zones. They have a certain number of pastures in definite valleys. The people of one valley or several valleys all cooperate to gather their animals into one grazing ground, and leave it to one family to be responsible in taking care of all the animals sent there. The pasture is open to grazing animals from May, and is closed by the end of September. This is called one season. Fees for the care of each animal in the grazing ground per season vary from palce to place and year to year. The fee for each animal for this past summer was 1.2 tou of corn or wheat. One wonders if this grazing cooperative is not the earliest cooperative in China.

II. ROCK CAVE COOPERATION

574
342 Because of the limited amount of cultivable land, and the unreliable
222 harvests caused by the great variability in rainfall, agriculture alone is not
224 enough for their livelihood. They have to depend upon the products of the high mountains for part of their income. The chief products of the high mountains are animal products and medicinal herbs. Therefore, the two important avocations for the people are hunting and herb digging. Both types of work mean a difficult and lonely life in the wild and wet wilderness of the high mountains. One has to drink out of the streams, feed on wild vegetables or animals. At night, one has to seek for shelter under rock cliffs or in caves. Through long years of hard experience, definite places for night dwelling are marked out and named. They are called Rock Nest 岩窩, Long Cliff Nest 長崖窩, Ch'iang Ho Cave 羌活洞, etc. Everybody who goes to the mountains knows where to go for the night. But there are certain traditions or customs about it. That is, when you leave the place you must leave it clean and everything in order. By everything I mean the crude equipment people use for cooking, such as a large piece of rock slab for making dough, a wooden hook which is used to hang the teapot with from the overhanging roof, and three pieces of rocks for the support of the cooking pot. Usually people also gather a heap of dry fuel inside ready for emergency use for later comers. Another good custom is that you can leave your own things inside and go off roaming in the mountains hunting or digging. Even if there are new-comers, there is not only no stealing, but instead they are very hospitable and share each others trophies. The spirit is quite different from that of the plains people. They are neither selfish nor calculating in their dealings with one another. The poor people are usually more generous than the rich. This is true everywhere, and it is true in the mountains as well as in the grassland.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

In the grasslands among the Fan people, out of their nomadic mood of living grows the hospitable custom of playing host. In the wilderness of the grasslands there are neither inns nor hotels. Travellers in these regions have to depend upon the mercy of the local population for shelter and food. If a traveller once stayed in one tent, next time when he visits the place again he must stay with the same host. If not the host will be greatly offended, and the traveller will get himself into a bad way. The host family looks at the stranger as a member of the family, and they are very generous with chang-pa and milk. They seem to have a feeling of responsibility toward strangers who get into their midst. They feel it is up to them to feed the strangers. What they have is very little, but they are ready to share with others what they have.

E. SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE COMMUNITY

The general impression of the tribal communities is the importance of women, and some people even say that the borderland is a woman's world, because women seem to dominate in everything there. But when one comes to examine the situation more closely, he finds the situation is quite different. In these mountainous and grassland areas the natural environment is hard on people, living conditions are difficult, and the population is scanty. The result is that there is very little difference between the rich and the poor, and people are more democratic in spirit. Women, too, have to do their share in getting themselves and their families food. They have to work hard for their living. Therefore, women are as important as men in supporting the family. And where the Lama faith predominates, most men spend days and years in prayer and meditation, and dreaming about the future, and it becomes the lot of the women to see about the dirty work and the problems of the present. Women have to cultivate the land, or to attend to the cattle, or to rule the people, while their sons, grandsons, and even husbands are turning their prayer wheels and reading their scriptures. I do not think that they have ever thought that they are giving the women the more important place in society, nor do the women have any idea that they are working with freedom or equality. It is simply a question of necessity, because no people can live on prayers and scriptures alone. Thus without fighting for emancipation or equality, women are the pillars of society.

Among the tribal people there are as many women rulers as men. For instance, in the Black River the wife of the tribal leader at Lu-hwa 麓花 is the ruler at Cha-o 插窩. The wife of the tribal leader at Ma-o 麻窩 is ruler at Lung-pa 龍壩. In some cases the women leaders are doing a much better job than the men. The people do not seem to mind whether the ruler is a woman or a man, as long as he or she does the job well.

Not only among the ruling families, but even among the rank and file, the women seem to be the brains in all affairs. When you go into a home it is to

4: Liu K44 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time.

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神會, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest.

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sowing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which